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THEODOSIUS.

SOLEMN ADMONITION

TO

Protestant Dissenters.

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THEODORE

JOHN ADAMSON

Problems Discovered

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THE ODOSIUS:

OR A

Solemn Admonition

T O

PROTESTANT DISSENTERS,

O N T H E

PROPOSED REPEAL

O F T H E

TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

In which are considered the political and religious
Characters of

Dr. P*****,

Dr. PRICE,

Mr. FOX,

Judge *****,

Mr. SHERIDAN,

Mr. B****,

Mr. SAWBRIDGE,

Mrs. F*****, &c.

Τὸ τοῦδε γινώσκῃ, ὅτι ἐν ἐχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμνησύναι καιροὶ
χαλεποί.

Second Epist. Timothy, Chap. iii. Verse 1.

Ἄλλ' ὃ προκοψοῦσιν ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ γὰρ ανομία αὐτῶν ἐκδηλοῦ
ἐστὶ πᾶσιν,

Ibid. Verse 9.

L O N D O N;

Sold by J. BUCKLAND, Pater-noster-row; SCATCH-
ARD and WHITAKER, Ave Maria-lane; G. BOURNE,
Panton-street, Haymarket; and all other Booksellers in
Town and Country. 1790.

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIX-PENCE.

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THE O D O S I U S.

T O T H E
PROTESTANT DISSENTERS
O F
E N G L A N D.

IN an age, so studious of novelty and enter-
prize, I do not flatter myself that the serious
admonitions of fourscore years and ten will be
honoured with *universal* attention, but my heart
assures me, that the truly pious, and well prin-
cipated Protestants will meditate on these things,
and not rashly assent to measures, that obviously
endanger the church of Christ, and the existence
B of

of that freedom for which our brave and worthy ancestors sacrificed property and life.

Abstracted from the world, I have leisure to contemplate the various scenes of human life, and to ascertain the views of popular and distinguished men; and I have now the honor, my Friends and Brethren, to lay before you the result of my observations, and I pray that the spirit of the Most High God may enlighten our minds, and lead us into all truth.

I trust I have no where violated the laws of Charity and Candour, when speaking of those who are led astray by a vain imagination, or influenced by a rooted enmity to Christ. It is my privilege, my duty to oppose *error*, but the *persons* of men I commit to the tender mercies of God.

If there be any thing in my stile of writing, which, in this enlightened age, appears antiquated and uncouth, I hope my years will be my apology.

THE OBJECT OF THIS ESSAY.

I do not blush to own that I am an advocate for the *Bible*.

I believe its *doctrines* are in danger of corruption from *popery*.

And its very *existence* in danger of being subverted by *infidelity* and *scepticism*.

I am

I am disposed to credit PAUL, the Apostle of JESUS CHRIST, in preference to JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, the Apostle of Scepticism and Infidelity. The Doctor is a learned man, I admit, and as such I honour him. But it ought not to weaken our faith in the Christian Religion, because a man of education opposes its sacred mysteries. *Not many of the Noble or the Wise are called to the knowledge of divine truth.* The Cross was always a *stumbling-block to the Jews, and foolishness to the Greek.* Dr. Priestley is only a *modern* instance of an *antient* observation. If no man of letters in Europe gave credit to the Bible, its history and its doctrines would still rest on their own eternal foundation.

But we have seen, and the consideration makes the blood thrill with rapture through my aged veins, we have seen *Philosophers* bow down to the internal evidence of the Bible——*Philosophers*, of whom antient Greece might be justly proud—and compared with whom, a modern *experimentalist* is weakness and vanity. NEWTON, whose sublime genius displayed the glories of the Deity, in the magnitude and economy of the celestial bodies, was a *Believer*. LOCKE, the supreme defender of *Common Sense*, whose solid understanding fathomed the profoundest recesses of intellect, was a *Believer*.

It were an insult to the memory of these illustrious philosophers to compare them with the superficial advocates of gloomy Scepticism, or impious Infidelity.

THE PLAN PURSUED IN THIS ESSAY.

IT being my intention to oppose the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, I begin with a brief sketch of the *moral, political, and religious* characters of the principal friends of this ill-advised and pernicious project.

Secondly, I demonstrate the fatal consequences of the measure, if carried into effect.

Thirdly, I address Protestant Dissenters according to their several sects or persuasion, and then conclude, with an humble Appeal to my Lords the Bishops, and to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

DR. PRIESTLEY.

DR. PRIESTLEY.

THE following Anecdote of SILAS DEANE, the American, will best exemplify my ideas of Dr. PRIESTLEY'S *Christianity*, and be—I hope—a sufficient warning to my Brethren the Dissenters, not to lend their aid to a man, who publicly avows a design to annihilate the transmitted faith of our ancestors, and whose principles have a direct tendency to establish *Atheism* and *Anarchy*. I solemnly affirm the Narrative to be a fact, as I hope for the divine protection and support in time and eternity.

The NARRATIVE.

I knew Mr. DEANE, from his early infancy. He was pleased to consider me as a friend, and to repose an unbounded confidence in my integrity. He was naturally of a bold, enterprising spirit, and contributed more to the Revolution in America, than any man that can be named. His address at Versailles, urged that insidious and temporizing Court to an immediate declaration of its intentions. The fact is curious, and in a degree important, as it serves to demonstrate the wretched intelligence which our Ambassador transmitted to Great Britain. I received the detail from his own lips.

Dr. FRANK-

Dr. FRANKLIN and others, were dispatched on an embassy to France. To dupe the Court of Great Britain, they were refused a public audience of the King and his Minister. But notwithstanding the boasted vigilance of Lord STORMONT, notwithstanding the immense sums paid by this country for Secret Service Money, a constant intercourse was carried on with SARTINE, through the medium of his Secretary. These negotiations, however, appearing too dilatory and evasive to Mr. Deane, he sent a letter to SARTINE, solemnly protesting, that he would propose terms of accommodation to England, if the declaration of immediate support were not signed by France in eight and forty hours. This bold and irregular proceeding was entirely unknown to his associates; and no sooner had he communicated the particulars, than Dr. FRANKLIN gave up all for lost.

" You have offended the Court of France, (exclaimed the frigid philosopher) and you have ruined America.

" Have patience, (said SILAS DEANE,) 'till we receive an answer."

" An answer! we shall be sent to the Bastile."

In a few hours, the confidential Secretary makes his appearance.

" You

" You are requested, Gentlemen, by Mr. SARTINE, to hold yourselves ready for an interview at Midnight."

" At Midnight! (said Dr. FRANKLIN, as soon as the Secretary had withdrawn) my prediction is verified. Mr. DEANE, you have brought destruction on the cause."

At midnight, the Ambassadors were hurried, in a coach and four to a villa, five leagues from Paris, and introduced to Mr. SARTINE. The fatal declaration was instantly signed—the Minister withdrew,—and many subsequent dispatches from Lord Stormont were filled with the strongest assurances of the *pacific* and *friendly* intentions of France.

The Ambassadors returned in triumph, and Dr. FRANKLIN, when he drew off his dress coat, expressed himself in this extraordinary manner—
 " This coat I will preserve as a trophy—for in
 " this coat I was grossly insulted and abused by
 " WEDDERBURN,* and in this coat I have taken
 " a full revenge."

I cannot avoid remarking, on this occasion, though it may have the appearance of a digression, that it is extremely impolitic to treat the leaders of a disaffected people with rudeness and contempt. By offering an exclusive pardon, instead of a general amnesty, we lost America. By
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* On his examination.

treating Dr. FRANKLIN with severity and insolence, Mr. WEDDERBURN excited, even in the breast of a philosopher, a fatal thirst of revenge. To this may be added, a remark on the inutility and danger of crediting the polite assurances and flattering cordialities of the French Court. Lord STORMONT, though conversant with diplomatique *arts* and a consummate master (as he pretends) of courtly deceptions, was fairly and effectually foiled by the open and determined spirit of a private citizen.

The last time I saw SILAS DEANE was on a bed of sickness and death. He *sent* for me.

AUTHOR.

Mr. DEANE, said I, it gives me concern to see you indisposed. I hope you are employed in the duties of an immortal being, and are "setting your house in order."

SILAS DEANE.

I sent for you, my friend, to communicate my wishes, concerning *domestic* affairs; as to *religious topics*, I will give you no trouble. I have done with such *stuff*—I have been taught the *truth*.

AUTHOR.

And pray what is Truth? I am anxious to be informed where you found it.

SILAS

SILAS DEANE.

Not in the New Testament, nor in the Old. I do not believe that a Virgin ever conceived a child, nor do I believe that forty thousand people passed through the Red Sea.

AUTHOR.

Do you refuse assent to the proposition—"a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son," because 'it is *superior* to your reason, or *contrary* to reason?

SILAS DEANE.

I do not say it is absolutely contrary to *reason*, but it is certainly contrary to *experience*, and contrary to the Laws of Nature.

AUTHOR.

What do you mean by a *Law of Nature*?

SILAS DEANE.

A uniform operation, acting on determined principles, from all eternity.

AUTHOR.

Then, by what *Law of Nature* were the Sun, and Moon, and Earth, brought into existence? Why does not this Law of Nature, thus acting incessantly, on determined principles, produce other Suns, and Moons, and habitable Orbs? In the unoccupied space of our Solar System, there is ample room for the deity of your devotions to display her uniform and unceasing operations;

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and yet—strange to tell! the History of the World does not furnish one solitary instance of her prolific energies.—The Orbs in our System are materially, locally, and numerically the Orbs, which were noticed by Astronomers *three thousand years ago*. Your deity is dead. I sincerely wish, for the sake of men disposed, like yourself, to an easy reception of error, that our accustomed phraseology were inverted—Creation, and all the common operations of Nature, are, in reality, MIRACLES; and the suspension of those imaginary laws is the restitution of Nature to her own merit and passive existence. You do well to acknowledge, that the inhabitation of the Messiah, in the womb of a virgin is not *contrary* to reason, for amidst the infinite possibilities of producing our species, it cannot be inferred, *a priori*, that the established mode is the wisest, or most eligible; but we infer its wisdom and excellence from the fact—"Thus it hath pleased the Lord." As far as *Reason* is concerned in the business, it is equally *miraculous* to produce a being by the common process of translation, as to produce a being by any other mode of operation. But, as you rest your argument on its contrariety to Experience, give me leave to ask you—Who was the father of Adam? You are taught, you say, by *experience*, that every child must have a father—but we have here an instance
to

to the contrary. If this be not sufficient to shake your principles of infidelity, permit me to enquire who was the Mother of Adam? If it be contrary to Experience, and, by an induction from that contrariety to experience, if it be *impossible* for a child to be produced from a womb, not previously impregnated, how will you reconcile your reasoning with the fact—"ADAM was formed without entering any womb?"

SILAS DEANE.

I believe in the eternal existence of the world, and all that it contains.

AUTHOR.

Admitting, for a moment, the eternity of the universe, I desire to be informed of your sentiments respecting the Deity.

SILAS DEANE.

I deny the existence of a Deity.

AUTHOR.

You do? But you admit the eternity of the universe, and consequently you admit the eternity of mind; now, the first and best idea we conceive of God is—*eternal intelligence*, and then, by traditional induction, we discover his other infinite and eternal attributes.

SILAS DEANE.

Nonsense! There is no distinction between *matter* and *mind*.

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AUTHOR.

AUTHOR.

Then the *Soul* is *material* and *mortal*?

SILAS DEANE.

Indisputably. It is my *body* which *thinks*—when that perishes I shall be no more. Some thousand years hence the particles of my present frame may be jumbled together, and by the accession of other matter form a horse or a dog; perhaps a philosopher—This is the Resurrection, and I am thankful I am delivered from the dread of any other.

AUTHOR.

I feel more than I have power to express! May God in mercy preserve you from that destruction to which you are hastening. Your conscience, my friend, is in the awful state described by the Apostle—it is *feared*. And indeed, I know no man living who has greater reason to wish that such delusions may be realised than yourself; for no man has been so active, no man so successful in deluging America with civil blood, and in making it a scene of desolation, a land of widows and orphans. But before we part, to meet no more—for I perceive your end is approaching—do inform me what man—what monster—infused into your mind such horrid blasphemies? Name the wretch, who has thus dared to tear up by the roots the sweetest consolations of this transitory life, to render the prospects of eternity beyond imagination

tion dreadful ; to ruin your immortal soul, and annihilate the glorious and adorable Being, who gave you existence !

SILAS DEANE.

Dr. PRIESTLEY.*

AUTHOR.

Dr. PRIESTLEY!!!

SILAS DEANE.

Yes, Dr. PRIESTLEY was my instructor, my saviour, and my god.

MRS. * * * * *

THAT this Lady is a *Papist* is acknowledged with regret by Protestants, and with an air of insolent exultation by Catholics.

Dr. WITHERS' has youth and fortitude to support him ; and it appears from his printed Address to the Court of King's Bench, that the severities of the law serve only to give additional ardor to his spirit, and energy to his diction. But
discretion

* I desire to be unknown ; nor will I gratify idle curiosity, but if any respectable character doubt the truth of this Narrative, I will refer him to a Clergyman of established reputation, who was an auricular witness of the same language and of the same avowal from this deluded man. A line directed for the Author, to be left at Mr. Buckland's 'till called for, will meet with due attention.

discretion in the *aged* is pardonable, if not honorable. I shall, therefore, speak with reserve.

Of the charge against her honour, on account of a foreign nobleman, nothing can be advanced with certainty, as the Defendant, it seems, had no opportunity allowed him to prove the fact. But it is clear that the Court considered her a *virtuous* woman, though her intimacy with a certain great personage is known to every man in the kingdom. And this I take to be a tacit avowal of Marriage. It is true, by the Act of Parliament passed in the days of William and Mary, such union is *contrary to law*, but I have been informed by very respectable authority, that the lady intends to qualify for the throne by a *public recantation*, and that a special licence will be granted for that end by the *Pope*.

Whatever division of sentiments may prevail respecting the *virtue* of the lady, mankind appear unanimous in the acknowledgment of her *zeal*—her zeal for that mode of faith in which she was educated.

The devotion of Her Highness is animated by no common motives. The vast space she occupies in the eyes of the *Faithful*, the adoration of the laity, and the unbounded respect of the priesthood are sufficient to inflame even a *Stoic*. It is no wonder, therefore, if a lady, *constitutionally zealous*, believe herself commissioned by
Heaven

Heaven to restore the Catholic Church to its ancient glory and dominion. The moment is certainly auspicious to this august design; nor will his Holiness permit it to be lost; if the most flattering homage, and the most assiduous attentions can ensure success.

But though Catholics confide in the promise—the *gates of Hell* are never to prevail against them—they ought to be reminded, that the *hand of Heaven* may defeat the best concerted measures of the Conclave. Let her Royal Highness enjoin her Confessor to be more discreet—in *public*. Of all the priests and advocates of popery, which assemble at Mr. Cogan's, in Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, this gentleman is the most sanguine in his views, and the most intemperate in his language.

MR. B U R K E.

IT is unpardonably indecent to affirm that Mr. BURKE is a Papist. It may be true, that his parents were Catholics—that he was educated at St. Omer's—and that he is the steadiest friend to Popery the House of Commons can boast. But I desire

desire it may not be forgotten that, *in contemplation of law*, he is a very sincere Protestant.

Dining with Dr. PRICE, soon after Mr. BURKE's Apology to the good People of Bristol made its appearance, I expressed my surprise at his celebrated eulogium on Popery, and his heterodox ideas of the responsibility of representatives, Dr. PRICE exclaimed, with an emphasis that made an indelible impression on my mind—"BURKE
" *is no Liberty Man.*"

MR. FOX.

Mr. Fox might be justly offended, if I classed him with men who are influenced by *religious* sentiments; for he evinced a spirit superior to vulgar prejudices, long before boys, in general, begin to think. Encircled by his little friends at Eton, he used to declaim on the absurdity of believing in God, "Whom no one ever saw, and of whom it
" is impossible to have a just conception."

As I cannot suppose Mr. Fox has *seen* the Deity since he left Eton, he must consider a book, which treats of the divine perfections, as an idle romantic imposture. Nor do I imagine he has a
predi-

predilection for any particular system of faith. He feels himself equally at liberty to make *Popery* an instrument of ambition, and the *Religion of Nature* subservient to his pleasures.

MR. SHERIDAN.

THIS gentleman is one of the enlightened philosophers, who have discovered, by superior brilliancy of genius, that Religion is nonsense, and morality—useless. But, as a dependant on the eleemosynary bounty of his Royal Highness and his Grace of Norfolk, he will support the petition of the papists *in* the House, and illustrate the principles of Atheism *out* of it.

MR. SAWBRIDGE.

IT would be inconsistent with candour and integrity not to allow Mr. SAWBRIDGE the praise of patriotism, though his political principles preponderate in favor of a Republican form of government.

ment. But his sentiments on religious subjects are very reprehensible. When the Dissenters applied to Parliament for a repeal of the subscription to the articles of the establishment, they did not desire any advocate for the measure to treat those articles with *contempt*. Still less did they countenance the obloquy and derision thrown on the sacred scriptures themselves. This gentleman will recollect how nearly his imprudent conduct on the occasion deprived him of a seat in Parliament. I assure him, upon my honor, that Mr. ATKINSON was highly benefited by his indiscretion. The Citizens of London are not yet reconciled to Popery, or Deism. If Mr. SAWBRIDGE profit by this admonition, the ensuing Winter, my object is attained.

DR. PRICE.

IT is not easy to name a man more deservedly esteemed than Dr. PRICE. His conceptions of civil and political freedom are just and honorable. But, in his late sermon, he laments the rapid increase of infidelity in other countries, and of "the barbarism of Methodism" in this!

Barba-

Barbarism of Methodism! Is this the language of Dr. PRICE, so celebrated for gentleness and liberality of spirit!

Barbarians! Let it be remembered, if Dr. PRICE can boast the authority of PRIESTLEY for not ascribing divine honors to the Messiah, these *Barbarians* can appeal to the *Law* and to the *testimony* of God in vindication of those honors. But it is quite natural to contend zealously for *Toleration*, when we want any favours bestowed; and to betray a most intolerant spirit in our conduct toward those who dissent from our opinions.

I should be happy to be informed, why this gentleman, in his *printed* discourse, touches so lightly on the qualifications of a Prime Minister, that no particular designation of person is discoverable, though, in the delivery of his sermon, he was so pointed in his description of a *Gambler*—a *Spendthrift*—and an *Infidel*, that the audience immediately recognized the portrait of—Mr. Fox? Was my venerable friend apprehensive lest any of the Members of the *Whig** Club—or of the *Constitutional Society* should advise a prosecution in the Crown Office!

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JUDGE

* WHIG Clubs at war with the Press!!!!

JUDGE ***** FABER.

I never knew the value of a *free press*, 'till I attempted to delineate on paper the political features of this extraordinary gentleman. It is of infinite consequence to the peace and prosperity of England that the true character of Judge FABER should be published to the world—but *I dare not*. The imprisonment of Dr. WITHERS for a libel being a general topic of discourse, and his Address to the Court of King's Bench being greatly applauded for zeal and constitutional argument, I was induced to read it, and I confess that I was ignorant 'till *that moment* of the danger to which every citizen is exposed, who presumes to utter even Truth itself. I had not the most distant idea, that a mode of prosecution existed in this Land of Freedom, by which a citizen may be sentenced to *imprisonment for life*, at the suit of a private individual, for publishing Truth.

But in the Crown Office, it seems, you need only prove the *fact of publishing*, and then fine and imprisonment follow; for the Defendant is not allowed to justify his conduct, by establishing the truth of his pamphlet. But suppose him unable to pay the fine? Suppose him unable to procure securities for the peace? He is irreparably

bly undone, and doomed to wear out his life in a prison.

During the late exertions of Mr. BASTARD, Member for Devon, a case was stated in Parliament of a poor woman, who had urged a right to a certain pew, in a country church, in terms that displeased the Vicar's Lady. A process was commenced in the Spiritual Court—the expences were enormous—the penance considerable—and the poor woman, in consequence, was excommunicated, and thrown into a jail, where she languished *six and forty years*! No Act of Grace could relieve her. The debt was due to the *Church*. The nation reprobated such cruelties, and put an end to them for ever. And will a people, so long celebrated for their strong attachment to freedom, suffer *Liberty of Speech*—the first and dearest of *all liberties* to exist under restrictions so base and degrading? Would it not be infinitely more merciful to appoint a *Licencer of the Press*? Printers, Publishers and Authors would then be in no danger of fine and perpetual imprisonment.

But as *Truth* is offensive and illegal, suppose we were to try the fate of *Falshood*.

Judge ***** FABER has many enemies, who take pleasure in traducing his character, but THEODOSIUS will adhere to truth. Judge ***** FABER then is NOT a traitor to *this* country. His estates

tates ARE confiscated by Congress, who place NO confidence in the man; for he did NOT dispatch thousands of inflammatory letters into the Southern Colonies, when a privy counsellor to Governor TYRON. He did NOT inform WASHINGTON, that the unfortunate ANDRE might be expected within his lines. He did NOT advise Lord DORCHESTER to reject Trial by Jury. He has NOT recommended a majority of Catholics in the council of Quebec. He is NOT a Catholic himself. He has NO correspondence with any Member of Congress; nor has he advised the Americans to demand the forts on the Western frontiers.*

What a picture of patriotism! Judge FABER is indeed a genius of the first distinction. It was a common remark in America, many years ago—"Some people go to school to the Devil—but the Devil himself is the pupil of ———." I dare appeal to every citizen of America, as well as every loyalist in England, that I speak the language of the Thirteen Colonies. And yet, it seems, what every body says may be a libel!

I will hazard a prediction—if Mr. PITT be not on his guard, Lord DORCHESTER will be duped, and the fine provinces of Quebec be in the dominions of Congress in less than *four years*.

I could

* When the great and good ally is in a condition to second the demand, it will be made, and MUST be granted.

I could, indeed, unfold a tale, that would awaken a just suspicion in the breasts of Ministry, and be the happy means of preserving Quebec from destruction; for I have known Judge ***** FABER more than half a century. But the people who tamely suffer political information to be stigmatized with infamous epithets, and its authors punished as felons, have little claim to the sacrifice of a hoary head. When criminal prosecutions for libels are abolished, and when citizens are permitted to justify their language by an appeal to facts, I will speak out, in terms, that he *who runs may read*. Or, if Judge ***** FABER will pledge his honour to resort to argument and fact instead of pillory and imprisonment, I will publish the secret history of his conduct to the world.

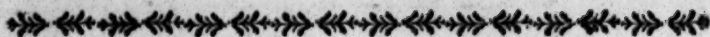
MR. JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

THIS Gentleman is not of sufficient consequence in the estimation of mankind, to induce me to notice him on this occasion, if he had not unhappily professed himself an advocate for the Church of England. This, I am afraid, will
bring

bring odium on the cause; for by a strange kind of fatality, Mr. TOOKE injures the party whom he affects to defend.

That one, who in early life was dismissed from the ushership of an Academy, for inculcating strange ideas of religion in the minds of youth—who is an apostate from the profession—whose creed, according to his quondam companion Mr. WILKES, has always been *non credo*—who has publicly asserted that Papists, though more vigilant, numerous, and triumphant than at any period since the Reformation, *are no longer to be feared*—who is a republican by profession, and a Member of the Constitutional Society—should yet be and enemy to the Dissenters, and a friend to the Church of England, is mysterious and paradoxical. But so it is, Mr. TOOKE, publicly, and in my hearing, declared, that “Dissenters ought to conform to the Religion established by Law.” And doubtless, if their consciences were of the same dimensions as Mr. TOOKE’s, they would.

C H A P T E R II.



LET us suppose the human race united, as one great family, by a commerce of benevolence, by an intercourse of friendship and affection—Let us add to this ideal scene, a universal conformity in moral and religious sentiment—Let the rational creation worship before the throne of God as with one heart and one mind—Let ambition, and fraud, and violence be unknown.

The sword is sheathed—Ministers of justice have no employ—Tests of conformity and allegiance are absurd; for the King of Kings is their sovereign, and obedience to his laws is at once their duty and *Delight*. Glorious spectacle! Even Angels survey it with rapture and admiration!

But Angels know that I am describing a visionary scene, that I have passed the limits of mortality, and am now anticipating a system of felicity that *can* be realized only in *Heaven*.

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I am not, therefore, the advocate of war offensive, or defensive, nor of Tests of Allegiance and Conformity—*abstractedly considered*. In themselves, they are Evils ; but the *present condition* of human nature renders them expedient.

UNLIMITED TOLERATION.

I ADVANCE it as a position which no master of the human nature will controvert, that unlimited toleration of sentiment is productive of unlimited licentiousness of conduct. Toleration, therefore, must be limited. Without endangering the very existence of society, neither the press nor the pulpit can be indulged in unrestricted effusions of fancy and falsehood.

I hope, in charity, the SOCINIAN, who rejects the worship of the MESSIAH from sincere conviction of the unity of the Divine Being, and a pious dread of ascribing the glory due to his name to a meer creature, may be undeceived in *Heaven*. I accede, also, to his wishes of withdrawing from the established forms of devotion, of submitting his sentiments to public view from the press, and even of enforcing them, with becoming argument and decorum, from the pulpit. But when a Socinian Minister, like Dr. PRIESTLEY, has the temerity to attack the Christian Religion from the pulpit and the press, in terms of insult and abhorrence,

when

when he affirms, in language that cannot be mistaken, that the Virgin MARY is a WHORE, and the Redeemer a BASTARD, I feel an honest indignation in my breast, and conceive *forbearance is criminal*.

If Toleration be universal and unlimited, the DEIST must be tolerated in his impious attacks on all that is deemed sacred by Christians of every denomination—If Toleration be universal and unlimited, the ATHEIST must be tolerated in his blasphemies against that awful and adorable GOD in whom *we live, and move, and have our being*. And finally we must tolerate a defence of *Perjury, Seduction, Murder, Robbery and Suicide*; for where there is no moral law there can be no moral transgression—But there is no written revelation, says the Deist; there is no GOD, says the Atheist, and therefore there is no law. Blessed notions to be instilled into the minds of the rising generation!

On all popular subjects, perspicuity is indispensable; I shall, therefore, subdivide this section into its leading ideas.

T O L E R A T I O N.

WHEN a Philosopher contemplates the human race as sprung from one common ancestor, and as living under the immediate protection of GOD,

their common parent, national hostilities affect him as at once impious and absurd.

Full of glorious ideas of universal friendship and felicity, he exhorts the Rulers of the World to disband their defensive armies, to convert their fleets into vessels of commerce, and to *learn the art of war no more.**

But this charming picture of universal friendship and felicity has no existence but in a poetical imagination. I even question if such a system of benevolence be compatible with the present constitution of human nature. Let us reflect on the animosities of the most tender alliances, from the death of ABEL to the present moment. Let us advert to the discord and duplicity in the circle of our friendships, arising from passion, caprice, and collision of interests—to the contests in Courts of Law, resulting from obstinacy or iniquity—to the violence offered to unoffending individuals in person, property, and fame—and then let us estimate the probabilities of establishing universal innocence and peace between nations separated by seas, agitated by discordant interests, and influenced by local and religious prejudice.—However ardently this consummation of human happiness is to be desired, the period, I fear, is far distant, when *Swords may be securely converted*

* Isaiah.

verted into Plow Shares, and Spears into Pruning Hooks---when Commerce will have no Rivals, and Thrones no Ambition--in a word, when the human HEART will no longer be ungenerous or unjust.

But if hostilities appear shocking and absurd, when commenced with a view to gratify the ambition of Princes, the interest of the Few, or the prejudices of the multitude, ought they not to be deemed more impious and absurd, when directed against CONSCIENCE?

Beyond controversy. *Religious* hostilities are superlatively shocking and irrational. To aim at supremacy over the conscience of man is a daring attack on the prerogatives of the Deity; and I hope my countrymen will ever strenuously resist a SPIRITUAL DICTATOR.*

If it be expedient, for the general good, to impose Restrictions on our Conduct in Society, it is yet more rational and expedient to impose Restrictions on the Communication of Sentiments, because *moral Sentiment is the Patron and Progenitor of moral Conduct.*

POPERY.

* Then they ought to resist Popery.

P O P E R Y.

Dr. PRIESTLEY contends that Papists ought to be considered as Catholic Dissenters, and enjoy all the privileges of Protestants.

I am surpris'd the worthy Doctor did not class JEWS among Protestant Dissenters. They will do as much honour to the OPEN CONSTITUTION of which he dreams, as the Catholics. And indisputably they do more honor to the Christian Religion than the Doctor himself. A Jew is a living miracle of the power of the Most High, and of his resentments against Sin; a convincing Evidence of the Truth of Christianity, and a most affecting illustration of the divine prediction—Thou shalt be scattered abroad, and become an astonishment, and a bye-word, *among all the Nations of the Earth.*

In opposing this extraordinary coalition of Popery and the Protestant Faith, I desire you to be persuaded, my Friends and Brethren of the Church of Christ, that I am actuated by the profoundest reverence for Truth and the Rights of my fellow Men. I sincerely wish that Catholics could be admitted to the full enjoyment of every privilege and immunity to which, as Englishmen, they

they are entitled. But this is absolutely inconsistent with the dictates of prudence and experience.

Because Popery is INTOLERANT.

I do not deny that the advocates of the Protestant Faith have been occasionally influenced by intemperate zeal, and unjustifiable prejudice. I blush, when I add, even Calvin *once* committed an Heretic to the flames.

Zeal, in fact, is the offspring of conviction; for it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to be sincere without experiencing an ardent desire for the conversion of others. And to propagate apparent Truth is not only innocent, but laudable.

CATHOLIC CONVERSION.

IT is not, therefore, the *Desire* of making Proselytes to Popery, which I deem reprehensible, but the *Object* or *final cause* of their zeal; for it is not to convert Men from *moral* error that they compass Sea and Land, but to make them subservient to the views of the Popish Hierarchy. Protestant Dissenters are sensibly affected with the importance of religious truth; and they manifest great pleasure on the accession of *worthy* men to their several systems of Discipline and Faith. But, in general, they are laudably solicitous to guard their churches
from

from disgrace. They admit no person to the Communion, who is not of unblemished repute; and if any member be negligent in moral conduct, they never fail to admonish him of the inconsistency of his conduct with his Creed. But no sort of enquiry is made into the moral principles of a convert to Popery. It is sufficient if he abjure "*Error*," if he attend to an established routine of forms and ceremonies, if he confess his sins to the Priest, and pay handsomely for absolution.

They have, also, a motive to the conversion of heretics, which may be termed—*personal*; a good Catholic is firmly persuaded that every proselyte to Popery—effected by his means—will atone for a multitude of sins, and increase his glory and felicity in the life to come. And thus the spoils are divided between the priesthood and the people—the former are rewarded with the *temporal emoluments* of the conversion, and the latter with the *Glory*.

I have my objections, also, to their *modes* of making Proselytes; for admitting the conversion of the *Will* to be the prerogative of Deity, it is in the province of man, I presume, to point out the excellencies of Virtue and the deformities of Vice; but the Catholics have few ideas of Religion, beyond the observance of a ceremonious system of Duties; and, therefore, when a person, by any means whatever, is induced to observe those external Duties he is, *bona fide*, a Catholic.

And,

And, if to Conformity be added Zeal and active Exertions in the glorious enterprize of proselyting the world to the “*only Church in which we can be saved,*” he is a *good Catholic*.

Hence, if a Peasant be reduced by sickness to a state of distress, the Steward of some neighbouring Catholic—of Mr. West, for instance, or Lord Petre—will wait on the poor man, and expound to him *the Way of Salvation*.

Or if a Widow, or poor Man, have any *Children*, the benevolent Catholics kindly undertake to *instruct them*. And I can appeal to respectable documents when I assert, that there are more young proselytes to Popery *now* than at the end of the last century.

But the most horrid mode of Conversion is that of *Fire*, or *bodily Torment*. It is a fact beyond controversy, that many thousands of American Indians were *tortured* into a Confession of the Catholic Faith, and then *executed* to prevent their relapsing into Paganism. This corroborates my position, that—a Confession of the Catholic Faith, without any correspondent Purity of Life, or even Acquiescence of Heart, constitutes Popery—and when they expect the Proselyte will retract the *extorted* Confession, they sacrifice the *temporal emoluments* of converting an Heretic for an *eternal Reward* of Glory, and *put him to Death*. The motive here assigned for destroying the Indian Converts, gives

probability to a popular Story. A Protestant was in imminent danger of Drowning. No one was near to afford relief but a Priest. *You are a Heretic and I cannot save you.—Oh, pray do, worthy Sir, pray do save me.—Then renounce Heresy, turn Catholic, and confess your Sins.—I consent.—Bravo! you are now secure of Salvation, and to prevent your doing yourself an injury by recanting I charitably permit you to SINK.*

The Thumb Screws, and other infernal instruments of Torture, which had received the pious Benediction of his Holiness the Pope, and were shipped in such abundance on board the Spanish Armada, were destined to promote the double purpose of all Catholic Conversions—to torture our Ancestors into a Confession of Faith, and to terrify them out of their Property.

If any Protestant imagine that Papists are now changed, I can assure him with great truth and solemnity, and with the honest integrity of a Protestant and an Englishman, he ERRS—his benevolent heart has been abused by artful and insidious representations.

If a Papist dare affirm, that any Revolution in Sentiment or Practice has taken place in the Catholic Church, I charge him with uttering an *impudent Falseness*, and I hereby defy him to demonstrate whence this change originates.

S T A T E

STATE of POPERY,

In EUROPE and AMERICA.

EUROPE. Nothing can be more absurd than to infer the Decline of Popery from the Revolutions on the Continent. Such superficial, more properly, such interested reasoners ought to be reminded that Popery and UNLIMITED Tyranny are the most repugnant things in nature. In all catholic countries, the Church and the State have distinct interests; and though it is a *Dictum* of the Priesthood that Kings reign *Juro divino*, independant of popular choice, and that the sovereign's will is Law, this is spoken in reference to the *Laitie*; for the Clergy form a separate community, an *Imperium in Imperio*, and their privileges and immunities are secured by their own laws, and by the coronation oath of their princes.

When those privileges and immunities are invaded, kings are imprisoned and dethroned without scruple or remorse. Thus the Revolution in Brabant has been effected solely by the intrigues of the Clergy. Their rights were infringed by the Don Quixotte of Austria, and the Holy Fathers vow'd eternal revenge. With the crucifix and the sword they have driven this vibrating monarch

from every foot of ground that he possessed in the Netherlands; and may the good genius of freedom prevent his return; *one* tyrant* is certainly sufficient.

The Revolution in France has been effected by the concurrence of Atheism and Popery, aided by the Protestant interest.

The attack on the property and privileges of the church must be ascribed entirely to Protestants and Atheists; for it is a melancholy fact that the nobility and philosophers of France are in general Atheists. At least they are Deists, and hold the Bible in supreme contempt.

On what has been advanced on the present subject, give me leave, my Friends and Fellow Citizens, to make two remarks.

1. The Church of England differs from the Church of Rome in this important respect—*it has no interests distinct from the State.*

2. If Popery, by a happy combination of causes, be weakened in France, it is no reason we should restore it to its ancient energy in England.

One is a triumph over superstition and slavery; the other a sacrifice of truth and freedom.

AMERICA, *United States.* The prospect of establishing Popery in this country, is extremely flattering.

Supported

* The Church of Rome.

Supported by the writings of infidel philosophers, and encouraged by the benevolent, but *impolitic* acquiescence of deluded Christians, Catholics have planned a system of dominion which no power on earth will be able to subvert.

Estimating the inhabitants of the United States at three millions, I am not afraid of being contradicted if I affirm, that *two millions* are already Catholics, or under the controul of Catholics.

CANADA. Quebec, or more strictly speaking, the Regions of Canada may, with truth, be said to be the most beautiful country in the world. In extent, it is superior to all the States of America united; in soil, as various; but in popularity, it is most wretched; for it is only as eighteen to one, in comparison with the United States. This is owing entirely to Popery and the feudal System. Had a liberal government been established on British principles, the American emigrants and refugees, instead of cultivating VERDMONT, which five and twenty years ago was a wilderness, would have settled in Quebec, and made it more than a compensation for the loss of America.

Verdmont has it in contemplation to unite with Congress. The motive is interested and obvious. The Merchants of Verdmont enjoy no communication with the River St. Lawrence, but on payment of heavy imposts; so that for one bushel of salt, they pay eight bushels of wheat. Of this intolerable

tolerable burden they justly complain. Their complaints are heard and encouraged. And there is at this moment a plan before Congress to ***** *** *cætera desunt*—till the press in England is free.

When the project is realized, sagacious politicians will exclaim — *who could have thought it?* Theodosius thinks it, and *knows* it. Let his words be remembered.

In all my travels through Canada, I never met with more than half a dozen Protestant Ministers, who had congregations. But of well attended mass-houses I do not estimate fewer than *thirteen hundred!* this we owe to the impolitic Quebec bill, which gave prodigious encouragement to Popery, but neither enlarged commerce, nor increased population.

LOWER RANKS *of* CATHOLICS.

THE lower orders of Papists are precisely the same blind bigoted mortals as in the eighth century. It is, indeed, morally impossible they should be otherwise. Their attachment to the Church of Rome depends on a persuasion of its being the *only Church*. Consequently to extirpate heresy is the most glorious work in which they can be employed. They despise the reformation; they abhor it; their children are *now* publicly taught in mass houses, that the Protestant Faith is Heresy, and

and the Reformation a wicked apostacy from TRUTH and GOD. I have heard them, and that very lately.

When the inferior orders of Catholics are drunk or enraged, they *speak their minds* . I hope to see the day, said a poor woman, at Helmsley, in Yorkshire, when the hearts of heretics will be sold in the public shambles!

A young Gentleman of family and fortune, paid me a visit on his return from DOUAY, where he had received his education. In the course of the day, I opened a book, and read the account of a blessed martyr of the Church who was beheaded on the top of a hill—the head rolled down the hill into a pond of water—the blessed martyr rose from the block, walked gravely down the hill, found his head, restored it to its situation, and then preached to the astonished multitude, and converted every soul of them to the truth, as it is in—the POPE.

And do you believe that? I do, said the youth, and immediately confirmed the fact, by relating a similar tale.

Then you may safely credit, I rejoined, the miracle of the blessed St. Patrick, who swam across the Liffy, with his head in—*his mouth*.

Priests can assume the form of angels of light, and plead as forcibly for toleration as for persecution. A general toleration, an OPEN CONSTITUTION

tion is now their aim. And hence their language in Pamphlets and Newspapers breathes a spirit of liberality and benevolence. This scheme to introduce Popery by an OPEN CONSTITUTION was attempted by James the Second, but the Bishops and Protestant Dissenters united in opposition to the artful, infernal project.

When King William dined with the Lord Mayor, who was of a dissenting family, and attached to their interests, He desired to know in what manner he could manifest his gratitude and regard to the Protestant Dissenters. Shall I promote a Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, my Lord? May it please your Majesty, Protestant Dissenters have no such wish: anxious as they are to enjoy every right of subjects and fellow citizens, they will patiently endure the salutary restrictions of the law, rather than open a door to POPERY; which they are convinced will be the case, if all men INDISCRIMINATELY be admitted to power and controul in our fleets, our armies, and our government.

ENGLAND. James the Third, though ambitious of power, was sottish and inattentive. But we have now on the throne of these realms—I use the language of Papists—a Prince of unexampled activity and zeal. Henry the Ninth is a paragon of devotion, and though he has no prospect of enjoying

enjoying the sovereignty himself, he is firmly bent on leaving an easy accession for the King of Sardinia.

It is scarcely credible how sanguine the hopes of the Catholics are that we must again have recourse to the continent for a King. The disorder, they contend, is HEREDITARY. "One of the junior branches has already been ILL. It is a Visitation from God to punish USURPERS."

And thus they flatter themselves with the Prospects of a second RESTORATION. And you, my Protestant Friends, are called on to second their ambitious projects, by admitting them to seats in parliament, to a participation of the government, to the command of our fleets and our armies. As to the oath of abjuration, they have leave to take it when they please. It is no sort of impediment to their designs. It would give them the sincerest pleasure, if ANY OATH qualified them for an office of trust. They would take it in a moment, for they know that when a kingdom is under the Pope's INTERDICTION, no magistrate can administer an oath *binding on the conscience*. They would cheerfully comply with the sacramental Test, but for this inconvenience—they could no longer *profess the Catholic Religion*.

No man on Earth is a more zealous friend to liberal investigation than myself. No man less bigoted to the NON-ESSENTIALS of devotion.

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Wherever

Wherever I discover SINCERITY and SIMPLICITY of soul, I hope the best. Thus a person, who is persuaded of the peccability and imperfection of our first parents, and that the conduct of Adam, in so easy and so early a revolt from his allegiance, is inexplicable on any other hypothesis, may allow with joy and gratitude the atonement of the MESSIAH, and the operations of the spirit. And when such disquisitions are conducted with politeness and Christian love, they are conducive to edification.

But, I confess, I tremble at the idea of an OPEN PRESS, from which an Atheist may pour out the pestilential effusions of a heart at enmity with God, or an "*enlightened*" Socinian inform mankind, that the Holy Spirit is a *whore-master*, and the MESSIAH a *Bastard*. We ought to distinguish between the freedom of a RELIGIOUS press, and the freedom of an INFIDEL press.

CHURCH

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

AGAINST this awful inundation of Popery and Atheism, I see no barrier, no asylum but in the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

This language may appear extraordinary in a PROTESTANT DISSENTER; but it is the language of dispassionate thought and sincere conviction.

I am not requesting a general conformity to the ordinances of the establishment. I mean only to affirm, that the best interests of religion, and the best privileges of Protestant Dissenters co-exist with the Church of England.

We have the experience of a century to assure us, that the Church of England is actuated by the most liberal and friendly disposition. Places of worship, in the dissenting interest, multiply and flourish in every part of the island. Persecution is unknown. Ministers of the establishment associate with Nonconformists, and the utmost harmony exists among every description of Protestants.

But this project of an OPEN CONSTITUTION—this monstrous coalition of Papists and Dissenters will eventually SUBVERT the CHURCH of ENGLAND; because Dissenters and Papists, from principles of honour and conscience, will strive

to weaken and destroy a Church founded in "APOSTACY"—and "SUPERSTITION."

And with a secret intention to erect their own systems on its ruins, they will unite in its destruction, and act in *concert* to promote a *separate* view.

I must not omit to notice, that this novel constitution of Protestants and Papists will effectually destroy peace and good neighbourhood.

The inconvenience of a general election will be perpetual. Every town, every hamlet in the kingdom will be distracted with intestine broils; and the jealousy of rival interests—Papist, Churchmen, and Dissenters—will break out with violence on the nomination of an Exciseman, or the election of a Mayor.

The CONSTITUTION, also, will be ultimately subverted.

We are deafened with the applauses of "LIBERAL MINDS"—and are told, in every paper that is published, that UNIVERSAL Toleration will be "*demanded*" and obtained. But, my friends, let us pause before we embark in so perilous an enterprise, lest that venerable fabric, the CONSTITUTION of ENGLAND, be overwhelmed in ruin. Let us consult reason, and disregard the enthusiasm of the Benevolent, and the illusions of designing men.

In the first place let us reflect, that a general toleration in France is no rule of conduct for
England.

England. There is no analogy in the civil and religious situation of the two countries. The Protestant Faith is favourable to freedom, *civil* and *religious*. And, therefore, if Protestants be admitted into the councils and civil offices of a Popish state, we have abundant cause to rejoice. But it would be folly in the extreme to admit Papists into the councils and civil offices of a Protestant state. It would be reducing this country to the condition of France, before her emancipation.

Secondly, we are by no means to suppose that Papists countenance this accession of Protestant influence in the government of France. They are shallow politicians, indeed, who do not perceive, that the measure originated with the ATHEISTS, and that Papists acquiesce in it from *Necessity*.

It is the wish of Atheists to have no religion but that of Nature ; and for the consummation of this favourite scheme, they labour incessantly. All establishments under Heaven, Popish or Protestant, are held by them in equal contempt. *Tros tyriusve—nullo discrimine agetur.*

Thirdly, let it be considered, that in the contest for civil and political superiority in this OPEN CONSTITUTION, we shall live in endless disquietude and animosity, 'till some party gain the ascendancy. Now let it be supposed, that POPERY is triumphant—will it support the CONSTITUTION? No. The Catholic Church—I leave the Pope out of

the question—never did, never will support any King or Constitution that dares abridge the dominion of the Priesthood. To corroborate this position, I appeal to the History of England, to the History of the Christian World. The Emperor has been *reforming*, or he would not have been dethroned in Flanders. The Catholic Church forms an *imperium in imperio*, a constitution governed by its own laws. Its dominion is SPIRITUAL, and its privileges immense. If these be preserved inviolate, it is of little consequence to a Popish Bishop, whether the monarchy be limited or despotic. Were the choice presented, he might prefer the latter, as slaves are usually more ignorant than freemen, and of course more *obsequious*.

Fourthly, let it be considered, that *Dissenters*, as well as Papists, *have* been in power. Their reverence for the KING—the CONSTITUTION—and the CHURCH of ENGLAND is on record.

Fifthly, permit me to add, it is the avowed intention of the Catholics not to rest 'till they enjoy civil and military power.

I am indebted for this information, to Mr. BERINGTON of Birmingham, a Papist, who has the confidence to assert in his pamphlet, that “the Government, and Constitution will be perfectly secure in the hands either of Catholics or Dissenters.”

I thank

I thank this gentleman for throwing off the MASK, but I assure him his pamphlet has filled me with the most serious and painful apprehensions of that anarchy and ruin, which will be realized, when the people of England are seduced into the belief, that the Constitution can be safe in the hands of Papists or Protestant sectaries.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

ADDRESS

TO PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

CALVINISTS.

I AM firmly persuaded, my dear Friends, that you hold in the deepest abhorrence the horrid notions of Dr. Priestley concerning the Son of God and the Immortality of the Soul. And will you countenance measures that will sanction his blasphemies, and disseminate them with vigour and effect?

Admitting it to be desirable for your poorer Brethren to be Excisemen, or your wealthier Friends to be employed in Civil and Military Offices; will you, for so abject a consideration, dishonour him, who bought you with his blood? If your love to the Redeemer be sincere, I call on you to exert all the powers of your mind, and all
your

your influence in Society, to dissipate the impending storm, and support that Church by which you are protected.

A R M I N I A N S.

You believe that Christ, by his active and passive obedience, made Atonement for Sin, and is able *to save to the uttermost* all who choose to trust in his Name, and manifest due obedience to his Will. Then I conjure you, my Brethren, by the spotless innocence of his life, and the infinite merits of his death, that you protect his name from insult, and his embassy from profanation. Arise and vindicate his sacred dignity: nor suffer the perishing concerns of this transitory state to seduce you from your allegiance; remember his own awful words—*Whosoever denieth me before Men, him will I deny before my Father and his Holy Angels.*

A R I A N S.

THE illustrious Being, who created the Heavens and the Earth, and in whom dwelt* *the fullness of the Godhead*—whose life was a continued display of benevolence and virtue—who condescended to taste of Death, and then rose triumph-

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and

* According to their own Creed.

ant from the Grave—was surely no IMPOSTOR! But if he be a “BASTARD,” he must be an impostor—and infinitely the greatest, the sun ever beheld.

Independently, therefore, of all civil and political concerns, I earnestly and solemnly enjoin you, from motives of respect to the Son of God, whom you profess to love, and whom, in a certain sense, you ADORE: to oppose the ANTICHRISTIAN Constitution of open and concealed indels.

DISSENTING MINISTERS.

I HAVE the happiness to find, that many Ministers distinguished for learning, piety, and moral virtue, are offended, are ALARMED at the proceedings of their brethren in the dissenting ministry. They abhor the abuse of sacred scripture in the administration of the Sacrament to infidels, and they would gladly unite on a ground of RELIGIOUS Reformation; but as to soliciting, as to *demanding* civil employ for Non Conformists, they deem it indecent and absurd.

In human affairs, MOTIVES, unhappily! differ from the PRETENSE. My brethren in the dissenting

senting ministry *pretend* they aim to procure for their Congregations the enjoyment of their RIGHTS.

Now the very pretense is absurd ; for the term RIGHT must refer either to a *natural* right or to a *civil* right. But it is solecistical and absurd in the highest degree to talk of a *natural Right* to be an Exciseman, or a Secretary of State. And as to *civil Rights*, they depend on the pleasure of a majority of Citizens. Every man, in a state of nature, is at liberty to worship the Deity as he pleases, being his own lord and law-giver ; but when a number of men associate for their common good, the MAJORITY have indisputably a right to establish a particular mode of worshipping God, to make public provision for its support, and to protect it from subversion, by demanding conformity in all who discharge offices in the state, of trust and influence. If any individual be dissatisfied, he is at liberty to withdraw from the community. To *compel* him to remain is a violation of natural right. To *compel* him to worship the Deity, in a manner offensive to conscience, is unpardonable tyranny, and a violation of the inherent rights of Nature. But there is no infringement of the Rights of Nature in requiring conformity to the established religion, from all who execute the laws ; and as to a CIVIL Right to execute the laws without conformity, it has no existence ; for it is or-

dained by law, that non-conformists shall be excluded. But of a Right that has no existence, there can be no violation. Against this plain, common sense argument no sophistry will avail.

If it be asked whether, *a priori*, the majority ought to form *any* establishments, I answer—yes. The condition of human society requires it. In younger life, I was not of this opinion. But I am now convinced, that established Popery, established Paganism—dreadful evils both of them—would be infinitely more conducive to the Common Good, than the system of infidelity which certain men are aiming to establish on the ruins of the Church of England.

Avarice and ambition, I fear, are the MOTIVES by which my dissenting Brethren in the Ministry are actuated. The Century commenced in liberty and it is ending in licentiousness. We are departing from the good old way. We are forgetful that the kingdom of Christ is not of this World. It is true, when a wealthy friend is in power, he can make his dissenting Pastor Chaplain to an embassy, or Secretary to a Prime Minister. But a moment's consideration must convince us, that the dissenting interest, at large, will suffer from the accidental honors and emoluments of individuals. It will awaken dormant animosities, and revive the competition and odium between *High Church* and *Low*.

I speak

I speak without reserve, for I speak from conviction. If success attend the application, we are *ruined*—the dissenting interest in this country is *undone*. And even if Heaven, in mercy, defeat the ambitious project, my Brethren in the Ministry will have wrought an evil in Israel that must imbruit reflection to the last moments of existence. Against a government, under which Protestant Dissenters have been protected for a century, they will have inflamed the minds of their inconsiderate flocks; and where peace and good neighbourhood are now established, they will have to contend with disappointment, odium and reproach. Such conduct, I am persuaded, they would condemn in others, as totally irreconcilable with the dictates of patriotism and the precepts of scripture.

I am this moment informed, that the States of Brabant have resolved, that the “**HOLY ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH IS THE ONLY RELIGION TO BE TOLERATED IN THE NETHERLANDS.**” And also, that “**NO PRINTER SHALL PRESUME TO PRINT ANY BOOKS TENDING TO INFIDELITY.**”

I consider these Resolutions as a providential confirmation of the language of this Address.

1st Popery is INTOLERANT. It is manifest as the light of day, that whenever and wherever Papists have the ascendancy, they are TYRANTS.

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The States of Brabant give the lie direct to all the specious and ensnaring paragraphs with which their brethren in England fill our news papers, and their restoration of the authority of the Pope's Nuncio is an argument of FACT, that will confound and subvert the falshoods in the Catholic Petition to Parliament, and demonstrate that what a man, whom I must consider as a martyr lately said is founded in truth, " Popery is ETERNALLY THE SAME."*

2d. Popery is HOSTILE TO FREEDOM. One of the first measures of the States, was a RESTRICTION on the PRESS. It is true, to guard the people from *Infidelity* is the *Pretence*; but the protection of *Popery* is the *Motive*. The real aim is to keep the multitude in darkness, and to deprive them of the knowledge of those salutary doctrines which enable Protestants to worship the Deity in *spirit and in truth*.

I earnestly entreat my fellow citizens to attend to these remarks.—The Popish hierarchy is a state distinct from the sovereignty of the realm——It is of no moment to the inhabitants of a convent whether the people be free, or in chains, as to their *temporal* concerns, provided the Priesthood detain them in spiritual bondage——But if the temporal sovereign endeavour to enlighten the minds

* Alfred's Appeal.

minds of the populace, or profanely violate the property and privileges of the *Church*, the Priesthood will promote an insurrection, and shake the offender's throne. To this cause the Emperor is indebted for the loss of his Belgic Provinces. And to this cause we must ascribe the promptitude of the Clergy to PUNISH the King of France for some past transgressions. It is true, they had no conception that the Infidels and Protestants in the National Assembly would carry the reform into *holy ground*. They now perceive their error, and are ardently desirous of a COALITION with the King. But it is *too late*, unless the Emperor be successful in his attempts to recover the Netherlands. The Imperial armies will then be at the service of his Christian Majesty; and the sceptre, united with the Crozier, may be too powerful for a divided assembly, a disaffected army, and a lukewarm people.

Sincerely attached to the interests of civil liberty, I shall rejoice if, with the present century, slavery be at an end in every part of Europe, and of the whole Earth. But if freedom raise her throne on INFIDELITY—if principles such as Dr. PRIESTLEY's be disseminated—I should prefer the profoundest darkness of superstition to such a state of society; for it is better to worship the blessed God, who made us, in a stock or a stone, than not worship him at all.

I am

I am lost in surprize at the Scenes before me? Gracious Heaven, a coalition of Catholics and Protestant Dissenters!

Protestants and Protestant Dissenters formerly united to dethrone the "*Whore of Babylon*," but never did I expect to behold a union of Protestant Dissenters with — PAPISTS! it is a solecism — a monster — the spawn of POKERY and INFIDELITY.

The subversion of the Church of England will give pleasure, I know, to most of my brethren in the ministry; but I am persuaded they tremble at the idea of introducing SUPERSTITION and ATHEISM; yet such will be the final issue of their present Coalition with Papiists to obtain an OPEN CONSTITUTION.

B I S H O P S

I RECALL to mind, with inexpressible pleasure, the confederacy of Bishops and Protestant Divines, to counteract the designs of James the Second. LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE, LIBERALITY of SENTIMENT, and an OPEN CONSTITUTION were then, as at present, the jesuitical topics of declamation.

Had Dr. PRIESTLEY been living at that period, he would have joined the Standard of JAMES, the

the advocate of UNIVERSAL TOLERATION and an OPEN CONSTITUTION. It is an insult to truth and common sense for such a man to style himself a friend to the REVOLUTION.

To the noble stand made by the Patriot Bishops in the reign of James, we are indebted, in a high degree, for the blessings of the REVOLUTION. For the continuance of those blessings, we must be indebted to the zeal and activity of your lordships in the approaching contest.

It is my humble opinion that a confederacy of the established Clergy is indispensibly needful; that meetings ought to be called in every county and Borough in the kingdom; and that a general association of the friends of the Church of England should be instantly formed and promoted. The Dissenters have set the example.

When the Members of Parliament, who have hitherto protected the ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION of the State, but who now appear to be intimidated by the prohibitory resolutions of Dissenters, perceive themselves strongly supported, there will be no danger of a Defection.

As Lords of Parliament, I do not advise your Lordships to pursue any unconstitutional mode of influence, such as public interference in elections, or an indiscreet use of your temporal authority, but I certainly counsel your Lordships to send

circular letters to the Clergy of each respective Diocese.

This measure is always legal, on the present alarming crisis expedient and laudable. The Church of England is menaced with destruction. By every obligation, therefore, of *Gratitude*, for your Honour and Emoluments—of *Conscience*, as Friends to Virtue and Religion—and of *Duty*, as Patriots, you are bound, my Lords, to apprize subordinate Ministers of the danger to which the establishment is exposed, and to call on them to discriminate at the approaching *Renovation* of Parliament between FRIENDS and ENEMIES.

I will not insist on the PERSONAL loss which your Lordships may eventually sustain from the reforming systems of Infidelity. The motive, in the first place, is too mean to be decently ascribed to your Lordships as a rule of conduct; and in the next place, the Temporalities of the Church will scarcely be affected during the life of the youngest Bishop on the Bench. And yet, if we reflect how *suddenly*, how *effectually* the Church of France has been despoiled of her revenues; we ought, perhaps, to consider the event as not only possible but probable; not as remote and uncertain, but as imminent and *unavoidable*. I speak on the supposition of a Repeal of those Laws which are so offensive to Papists and Infidels.

To

To the strong inducements already specified, permit me to add, my Lords, the HAPPINESS of men in the *present* life; for many affirm that Dr. Priestley is the most gloomy, most miserable, and most dissatisfied person in existence; he sometimes wears a face of resignation in *public*, but he is unable to conceal the perturbation of his mind in *private*: whether he is shocked at approaching annihilation, or whether he is but a partial convert to his own system I cannot determine, but I perfectly coincide in the purport of the Marquis of Lansdown's remonstrance "Sir, said his Lordship, "speaking to Dr. Priestley, *were you sincerely* " *satisfied of the Truth of your Theory, you could* " *not be that wretched, desponding Man you constantly* " *appear to be, when withdrawn from the public* " *eye.*"

When my Dissenting Brethren leave your Lordships at leisure to review the state of affairs with becoming dignity—for I do not wish to see you *dragooned* into schemes of Reformation—I hope every attention necessary will be given to the following subjects, which I propose with all imaginable deference and respect.

TYTHES. As this mode of raising supplies for the Clergy has been found, by long experience, to be injurious to peace and good neighbourhood, I humbly conceive such a commutation may be established as will remedy the evil, and make an

honorable provision for this learned and useful description of citizens.

MARRIAGES. The ceremonies of the establishment being repugnant to the principles of Dissenters, might not Sectaries be indulged with leave to solemnize the union at their own places of worship, and in what form they may judge most agreeable to reason and scripture?

SACRAMENTAL TEST. I am confident your Lordships will coincide in opinion, that the Sacramental Test is an awful perversion of Holy things to a most unholy purpose.

Are there not ten thousand ways of ascertaining allegiance to the Church of England, without compelling a Lord —, or a Mr. —, to insult the Deity, and *eat and drink his own condemnation*? Are the pearls of the gospel to be thrown before swine? How impious for an hardened offender, a professed debauchee to address the Almighty in terms like these—*I acknowledge and bewail my manifold sins and wickedness, I do EARNESTLY REPENT, and am HEARTILY SORRY for my misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous; the burden intolerable!*

PRAYERS. For the ease and edification of those, who attend the establishment, I think an abridgment of the form of Prayer highly expedient.

I perfectly

I perfectly agree with a noble Lord* that *Prayer must arise from the Heart. and is best performed in Secret.* But when his Lordship thence infers the inutility of Public Worship, I dissent from his inference *toto cælo.* We are cautioned not to *for sake the assembling of ourselves together.* The grand object of a public assembly is INSTRUCTION. The Scriptures are to be expounded—moral precepts inculcated—and civil duties enforced. But PRAYER does not appear to be conducive to INSTRUCTION. A concise Address to the Deity, comprized under the heads, INVOCATION, ADORATION, and PETITION—with a Prayer for the Commonwealth of Mankind, and for those who are in Authority, seem to be all that is needful. When the attention of an Audience has been fatigued by an unnecessary tautology of Prayer, the mind is little disposed to listen to the Sermon—the most important part of Public Service. But this, and every other hint, I submit, with becoming respect, to your Lordships' temperate and serious consideration.

ANTIEN T PENAL STATUTES. Judge Blackstone remarks, that our ancestors passed many laws, the Reason and Utility of which are by no means OBVIOUS, yet experience has always justified the wisdom of such Laws, for when abrogated, *inconvenience always ensues.*

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And this argument I adopt in opposition to the Project of SAMPSON the Noble, who is so anxious to throw down the Fences by Law established, and to lay waste the ancient provinces of the Church of England with FOXES and FIRE-BRANDS.

Protestant and Catholic Dissenters are doubtless under the highest obligations to Earl Stanhope for his charitable Intentions, but to detect the Fallacy of his Reasoning, I will select only one of those Laws which his Lordship desires to abrogate. It relates to WITCHCRAFT. The noble Lord conceives this Statute to be a Proof of the Ignorance and Superstition of the Parliament who enacted it, and a reproach to the "enlightened" age which suffers it to remain in force. But I request his Lordship to consider that our ancestors enjoyed as great a share of Common Sense as ourselves; nor does it by any means follow that they believed in the FACT when they provided a Remedy against the PROFESSION.

Thus, for instance, we have Laws of Modern Date against FORTUNE TELLING, but I dare affirm, that every Prelate on the Bench, and every Member of Parliament who assisted in passing that Law, is firmly persuaded that the Prescience of future events is the sole Prerogative of that awful Being who inhabits Eternity; at the same time they were convinced that the PROFESSION of such knowledge

knowledge is so common, that a Law was necessary to punish the Offenders. Innumerable instances have occurred of Individuals made wretched, and Families ruined by the Agency of such Miscreants.

Now let it be supposed that the Terrors of the Law totally extirpate the Practice—and suppose, in a future age, some noble Reformer should adduce this Law in Proof of the Ignorance and Barbarism of the 18th Century, would the Imputation be just? No. If the Law were repealed, swarms of Professors would start up in every part of the Realm.

And thus with the penal statute against WITCHCRAFT. Let the law be abrogated, and POPERY encouraged, and I pledge my life that WITCHES and WIZARDS will again abound in every Town and Village in the kingdom. Popery is the parent of SUPERSTITION. The Miracles and Legends of the Saints have a direct tendency to prepare the minds of the multitude for WITCHCRAFT, FORTUNE TELLING, and every absurdity under Heaven.

If there be no present pretenders to forcery, or the black art, the law cannot be enforced, but a dormant law is innocuous, and consequently no evil. The time *may* arrive when it may be again useful. And this reasoning is decisive against the abrogation of all ancient penal statutes,
and

and I humbly advise your Lordships to be cautious in assenting to their abrogation.



TO conclude, I hope your Lordships will be faithful. The Dissenters of Scotland are bound, by the *solemn league and covenant*, to subvert PRELACY as well as Popery. "Catholic and Protestant Dissenters" are urged by *inclination* to subvert the Prelacy of England.

Your Lordships must be vigilant, active, and unanimous. No temporizing—no palliatives—no mean and unworthy concessions to power and greatness. Suffer me to remind your Lordships of the decided and glorious conduct of Dr. Kenn, Dean of Wells. "When Charles II. passed through that town, NELL GWYN who was in the King's suite, went to the Dean's house to reside there during her continuance at Wells; the good Doctor, however, refused her admittance, and declared boldly—No King's HARLOT should enter there—The King, far from resenting this laudable conduct in a *Christian* Divine, shortly after promoted him to a Bishoprick." Query, what would the good Doctor have said had NELL GWYN been a PAPIST? Have the present Dignitaries of the Church of England an equal share of Fortitude and Virtue? *Sat Verbum Sapientibus.*

TEMPORAL

TEMPORAL PEERS.

IT is foreign to the purpose of this Address to investigate the origin of Titles, or to ascertain their influence on human happiness; perhaps, were they PERSONAL and not HEREDITARY, it would be as well ; and perhaps, had they never been devised it would be still better ; but in the present state of things, your Lordships will agree with me, that the Peerage of England, as it forms so important a part of the Constitution, cannot be abolished without inconvenience and hazards.

It rests with your Lordships to determine, from the evidence of History, how far DISSENTERS were *formerly* friendly to the HOUSE of PEERS.

Are they more liberal in this "enlightened" age? Look to America, my Lords, where TITLES are deemed an abomination.

Look to France, my Lords, and survey the effects of those LEVELLING principles which are so intimately connected with an OPEN CONSTITUTION.

If your Lordships desire to be degraded, insulted, and despised, vote for the Repeal of those

K

Laws

Laws which your ancestors enacted for your preservation. But if your Lordships are ambitious of passing through life with honour, and of transmitting your dignities undiminished to posterity, repel, with a noble disdain, this attack on the barriers of the Constitution, nor sacrifice to a PARTY the Interest of your Country, and the Splendour of your Rank.

F I N I S.

POSTSCRIPT

P O S T S C R I P T.

IF any one imagine the Dissenters are not in earnest in this business, I beg leave to appeal to the Resolutions passed at Leicester—a Fund is proposed — Delegates are chosen — a regular system of co-operation established—and the “NATIONAL MEETING,” as they style Parliament, is to be taken by storm!!! *Qui vult decipi, decipiatur.*

And if any one be disposed to censure my treatment of Dr. Priestley as unmerited, and to conclude, from the pompous and triumphant manner in which he defies the Bench of Bishops to support the Doctrine of the sacred Trinity, that his arguments are irresistible, I request leave to add, that the Doctor’s “ELUCIDATIONS” of important Passages of Scripture are usually disingenuous and often ABSURD.

The Divinity of the Messiah is a COMMON CAUSE, Dissenters are as much interested as the established Clergy, and though it be painful for a man advanced in years to enter the field of controversy, I pledge myself to meet Dr. Priestley on the ground of *Revelation* whenever he pleases.

As to the opinions of Synods and Councils, they are not *my* concern. What the old Fathers or the old Mothers of the Popish Church have written

written on the subject is, with me, lighter than vanity. The Doctrine is to be found in the Bible, or it is not.

With the HEBREW Testament; therefore, containing the Prophecies of the Messiah—and with the GREEK Testament, containing the Fulfilment, of those Prophecies, I am prepared for the contest; nor do I see how Dr. Priestley can decline the invitation.

January, 1790.

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